

Title

Visually framing press freedom and responsibility of a massacre: Photographic and graphic images in *Charlie Hedbo's* newspaper front pages around the world

Abstract

This research examines 441 front-page images published in 367 newspapers on the day following the shooting in Paris of twelve people at or near the satirical magazine to understand how mainstream media visually frame responsibility for the *Charlie Hedbo* massacre and how visual framing coalesced to represent collective narratives about press freedom. Through a collaborative visual analysis, this study attempts to understand how the selected visual frames worked to communicate the causes, effects, and responses to the massacre and also to press freedom—an ideological construct that that news media had a vested interest in advancing.

Keywords: Cartoon, Charlie Hedbo, Press Freedom, Democracy, Framing

Introduction

Two men shot and killed twelve people in or near the Paris headquarters of a French satirical magazine, *Charlie Hedbo*, on Jan. 7, 2015. The French Muslim gunmen reportedly forced their way into the publishing office asking for workers by name and shouted, “God is great” in Arabic during the attack. In the years leading up to the shooting, the magazine and cartoonists had increased their security after threats to their publication of satirical cartoons of prophet Muhammad, including drawings that characterized the religious figure in the nude. In the hours and days that followed the *Charlie Hedbo* murders, five people were

killed in related attacks on police and a kosher supermarket elsewhere in the city. In response to these attacks, an estimated 1.5 million people marched in Paris to demonstrate unity, chanting “liberte” and “Charlie;” a Yemen branch of al-Qaeda released an audio message praising the attacks and said a lesson about “the limits of freedom of speech” had been taught; and the Catholic Pope Francis defended freedom of speech while also saying such freedom has its limits. Solidarity marches for *Charlie Hedbo* and press freedom were held around the world in London, Madrid, Cairo, Montreal, Beirut, Sydney, and Tokyo. (BBC News Europe, 2015)

The entwined freedoms surrounding speech and religion are among the liberties central to democratic societies. This research aimed to explore whether the first of these, free speech, may have risen to prominence through the front-page images that told of these murders. This research examines whether the visual news media focused on press freedom in their retelling of this story over other possible narratives. The graphics and photographic images oftentimes accompanied news articles, bold headlines, and commentary. The unfolding story of the day’s shootings, additional violence, and marches provided newspapers everywhere—along with their journalists, editors, illustrators, cartoonists, publishers, advertisers and other workers, all with a vested interest in publishing freely—an opportunity to promote the ideals and norms of press freedom through the frame of these related news events.

The study will explore how front-page images provided audiences with explanations for the causes, effects, and responses associated with the attacks and specifically how these coalesced around questions of press freedom. In the case of the next-day news coverage of the *Charlie Hedbo* attack, the newspapers visually presented the causes, effects, and

responses through five similar types of photographic images and three similar graphic images. The whole of these visual representations then pointed to framing of press freedom and applies an international measure traditionally used on individual countries (Becker et al., 2007) This research will add to previous studies on framing that consider photograph and graphic images, including cartoons and comics. And it adds to research on press freedom in a democracy.

Press Freedom and Visual Framing

The possible frames available to journalists in telling the story of these attacks were numerous: everything from public opinion about expressions of religious beliefs, to the expansion or restrictions of freedoms of speech, to changing demographics in nations, to discrimination and Islamophobia, to the nature of workplace violence, to the prevalence of guns in Europe. In Western Europe, the tensions between ideals of free press/free religion and religious practices of Muslims particularly had surfaced around the idea of banning Muslim women from wearing headscarves, including full veils, in public (Helbling, 2014). Majorities in Germany, Britain, and Spain have supported banning headscarves while the majority of people in the United States do not support banning the headscarf (Pew Research Center, 2010). A North American survey completed after the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks showed a majority of respondents who knew of the attacks supported publishing cartoons about Muhammad, although non-white and female respondents were less likely to support the decision. Freedom of speech was the primary reason given for those who said it was acceptable to publish cartoons about Muhammad. The primary reasons given against

publication were split somewhat evenly between “should respect religious beliefs” and “offensive/politically incorrect/not appropriate.” (Pew Research Center, 2015)

Press or media freedom can be measured in different ways. Becker et al describe four ways of analyzing press freedom, which include laws designed and enforced to protect, penal codes that restrict reporting, licensing required of journalists, censorship of certain subjects, ownership and control of media, dependency on funding, entry to the journalism profession, and occurrence and prosecution of crimes against journalists and media outlets. (Becker, Vlad, & Nusser, 2007)

The International Research and Exchanges created a scoring system ascertain the level of press freedom. This organization determined that in order for press freedom to exist, there must be a high level of free speech, professional journalism, plurality of news sources, business management that allows editorial independence, and supporting institutions that assist independent media. (Becker et al., 2007) This research attempts to examine how the *Charlie Hedbo* massacres were visually framed, but also how these frames fit within larger narratives of press freedom espoused by a news industry that had a vested interest in promulgating that particular media frame.

Presentation of images and words in media constructs meaning and shapes the salience, perception, and memory of the world around us. In single moments as well as over the course of time, media representations can define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies through frames, "which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments." (Entman, 1993, p. 52) This social construction of reality is understood of as an invisible process

involving media-generated images forming meaning about political and social issues (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). Framing can be harmful, especially when presentations of social problems distort this issue or fail to provide solutions to those affected. (Kensicki, 2004) That distortion of an issue comes from a misconstruction of either the cause, effect or responsibility of an issue—three facets that have come to define media framing in its relation to power. These initial constructs were connected to media frames through the work of Entman and Rojecki (1993). This research expands upon ‘responsibility’ and reconfigures this definitional facet of framing toward ‘response’ as this directly suggests action rather than an assumption that one may occur as the result of the media frame.

Framing theory, while commonly applied in communication research to written texts, has been unevenly implemented in the field (Entman, 2004). Carragee and Roefs (2004) argued that framing studies must begin to examine their results within the ‘contexts of the distribution of political and social power’ (p. 214). They build this argument upon previous research which broadly, yet directly, linked framing to power and ideology (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Cartoonists and photographers have framed news content - and audiences have integrated these frames into their world view – through an ideological lens (McQuail, 2005), which can serve as the bridge between culture and cognition (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 384).

While this relationship is dynamic and multi-directional, it is predominately the elite, powerful, news media that shape how the public interprets issues and events (Sotirovic, 2000), rather than the other way around. Consequently, the public’s main understanding of social issues derives from a framed construction provided by media over time and from a

select perspective (i.e. Altheide, 1976; Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Ryan, Carragee, & Schwerner, 1998; Tuchman, 1978). Gitlin (1980) long ago defined frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse” (p. 7). A frame determines what is “relevant” (Hertog & McLeod, 1995, p. 4) and “suggests what the issue is” (Tankard Jr., Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem, 1991). Frames (both textual and visual) are “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, Gandy Jr., & Grant, 2001, p. 11).

This determination of relevance suggests an implicit evidentiary purpose to frames. How an issue is framed determines what and why something happened, but also confirms whether something happened at all. As such, the photographic image can be easily conscripted as ‘proof’ of an event occurring. “In order for social change to occur, there has to be evidence of the event” (Dansky, 2009). Echoing the important work of Susan Sontag, Dansky (2009) argues that photographs “make visible what is concealed and become evidence of reality” (para. 1). Although the importance of photographic images to our lived reality has been made clear (i.e. Blackwood, 1983; Zelizer, 2006), much work examining visual communication remains largely outside of the more professionally focused journalism and media journals—and less still examine emotionality in news photographs. This is surprising, given that within the research that does exist, there has been a wealth of compelling findings suggesting visual messages have a profound influence on how one thinks and feels about mediated content. For example, research has found that political images affect citizen’s voting intentions (Barrett & Barrington, 2005) whereas strategic

images affect the persuasiveness of arguments in advertising (Jeong, 2008). News images have been seen to be so powerful that in some instances they actually become “lived images” for audiences (Coonfield & Huxford, 2009, p. 457). Positive visual representations in televised media have been found to influence how individuals feel toward marginalized groups (Levina, Waldo, & Fitzgerald, 2006) and can negate or counteract textual information in the mind of the viewer (Desmarais & Bruce, 2010).

While there are manifest elements that comprise an image, there are latent sociological, political, and cultural cues embedded within visual messages as well (Huxford, 2001), which all coalesce to expose the ideological constituency (Manovich, 2001; Reeves & Campbell, 1994) of those who created the media message. Visual communicators exist within a mutually inter-supported nexus that simultaneously reflects and perpetuates social contexts (Barnard, 2005; Julier, 2000). As such, visual frames must not be understood as manifestly or purely evidentiary. While visual images do offer an elemental proof of existence, visual frames need to also be contextualized within an ideological position, which is central to how we “make meaning, and communicate in the world around us” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001, p. 1). Given that images are often the first items scanned within a mediated message (Miller, 1975), they also generally form the longest-lasting impressions on memory (Lester, 2003) and therefore, play a powerful role in the construction of social understandings. This research explores how, in the case of the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks, journalists may have privileged narratives surrounding press freedom in their visual coverage of the event.

Charlie Hedbo is a publication that has historically relied on cartoons as a mechanism of storytelling. Cartoons and photographs address a viewer’s attention in

particular ways that amplify and simplify. “When we abstract an image through cartooning, we're not so much eliminating details as we are focusing on specific details. By stripping down an image to its essential 'meaning,' an artist can amplify that meaning in a way that realistic art can't.” (McCloud, 1994, p. 30) Stripping a cartoon face to its basic features, for example, can make it more universal and inclusive of more people (p. 31). Photographs present an ideological position and larger story-level schematic. (Rodgers, Kenix, & Thorson, 2007) Visual communication becomes an excellent medium then to identify master narratives (Hall, 2003).

Research questions

This research attempts to gain insight into how cause, effect, and response for press freedoms are represented visually in the immediate newspaper coverage of the *Charlie Hebdo* attack. This study asks broadly how mainstream media around the world visually represented the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks, but in particular, this research asks two related questions:

1. How did mainstream media around the world visually frame the causes, effects, and responses to the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks?
2. How did the visual framing of the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks coalesce to represent collective narratives about the causes, effects, and responses to press freedom?

Methodology

To explore these research questions, this study examined the front pages of general-interest newspaper featured by the Newseum's "Today's Front Pages" online exhibit.¹ This included an examination of every one of the 352 front pages for international newspapers and 15 selected U.S. newspapers that were submitted to the exhibit within 24 hours of the attack.² Of the 441 images collectively, there were 327 photographic images and 114 graphic images.³ Of the newspaper front pages examined, 47 devoted all or nearly the entire front page to the Charlie Hedbo story.

The analysis of this study is based a constructionist approach that explores how repeated structures produce "authoritative accounts of the world" (Waitt, 2005, p. 168). This research moves away from essentialist approaches to uncover a more contextual, latent pattern of re-presentations. This is possible through a collaborative visual analysis, which attempts to explore the construction of an image in relation to a complex network of social and cultural forces (Wells, 2003). Indeed, images can be viewed as the result of these social and cultural complexes (Flusser, 2000), which have powerful connotations for the viewing

¹ The Newseum is a nonprofit organization and museum in Washington, D.C., with a mission of championing "the five freedoms of the First Amendment through exhibits, public programs and education." (Newseum, 2015) The museum's online "Today's Front Pages" exhibit features original and unedited front pages from more than 2,000 newspapers around the world, of which about 800 are submitted daily.

² We will select 15 U.S. newspapers from the total, including the 10 newspapers with the largest circulation and one issue randomly from 5 states in different regions. The five states were Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Washington. The largest-circulation newspapers are *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Daily News* (N.Y.), the *New York Post* (N.Y.), *The Washington Post*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Chicago Tribune*. The Huffington Post reported the average weekday circulation October through March 2012 based on data from the Alliance of Audited Media. (Associated Press, 2013)

³ For the purposes of this numerical summary, sets of headshots or cutout photographs of the victims or shooters were treated as one photograph. So, for example, two headshots of Charlie Hedbo workers were treated for the count as one. Graphic images included words and drawings. Headlines were not studied, although occasionally they were integrated into an image and used to contextualize or clarify.

public. This Foucaultian critical analysis is laden with a responsibility to privilege the visual image as a purposeful moment in the normalization of societal and cultural norms. As Landau (2009) has argued, the visual image “functions hegemonically to reveal and construct dynamic power relationships” (p. 84). As images are inherently ideological and laden with multiple meanings, this research has relied on two examiners, the co-authors of this paper, to explore possible meanings of the visual communication sampled through a collaborative and additive lens.

After the preliminary examination of visual images, the next methodological step was to ask if these visual narratives related to collective narratives of the cause, effect, and responses to press freedom. For this question, the press freedom indicator of the International Research and Exchanges Scoring System was used, which evaluates countries based on five objectives and their indicators. The objectives are (1) Free Speech as “legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information”; (2) Professional Journalism as “journalism meets standards of quality”; (3) Plurality of News Sources as “multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable and objective news”; (4) Business Management as “independent media are well-managed businesses, allowing editorial independence”; and (5) Supporting Institutions as “supporting institutions function in the professional interests of independent media.” (Becker et al., 2007, pp. 21–23)

Findings

Visual Causes, Effects, and Responses to the Charlie Hedbo Attacks

Newspapers worldwide repeatedly showed similar photographs and images. The first research question, “how did mainstream media around the world visually frame the cause,

effect and responses to the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks,” focused on the commonly used visual images in the sample. Out of the 367 newspaper issues analyzed from January 8, 2015, 275 included at least one photographic or graphic image related to the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks. There were five photographs that appeared frequently: (1) two gunmen and downed police officer; (2), medics moving injured man on stretcher; (3) crowd shots of people gathered in public squares; (4) headshots of *Charlie Hedbo* victims and two gunmen; and (5) candles. Additionally, there were three graphics that appeared frequently: (1) black background with white type of words, drawings, or both; (2) drawing that includes pencil or pencils; and (3) a *Charlie Hedbo* magazine cover. These eight images are described below. Analysis follows each description detailing how these images visually framed the potential causes, effects, and responses to the *Charlie Hedbo* attacks.

Photographic image: Two gunmen and downed police officer

This black-and-white, grainy photograph was part of a series of images that showed two masked gunmen standing near to a downed police officer on a sidewalk outside the *Charlie Hedbo* office. One gunman is pointing his gun to the officer, and the officer is mostly lying down with his hands raised. It appears that the gunman not aiming toward the police officer could be aiming toward that gunman. The photographs are cropped differently, although most of this selected range include an expansive sidewalk or footpath on the left of the gunmen. There were at least three variations published in this sample. Variations include a sequence of three photographs that begin with this photograph, followed by a photograph of the officer being shot, followed by the two gunmen walking away. In all three of the photographs, the officer remains on the ground. Many newspapers published the first or

second frame alone, while some newspapers published a sequence of three. The newspapers often added the photographs of the two gunmen near a black car with the car doors opened.

In all of the variations, power is central to these images, as it is wielded by the gunman and lacked by the officer who is rendered powerless. The cause of the attack is the gunman, although it is important to note that the cause gets complicated if one gunman has his weapon drawn on the other. The effects of the attack are terror and fear. With the police presented as helpless and unable to act, the state is abdicated of responsibility and powerless to act or prevent the attack. The image in its entirety presents all persons as diminutive and reduces the perceived efficacy that any change will occur. From the viewer's perspective, the moment feels fleeting as the camera pans. The expansive sidewalk or footpath on the left suggests movement and the gunmen reinforce that sense of movement. Given their directionality, that movement shifts the viewer's eyes off the right hand side of the page. The officer on the ground is secondary to the movement of the gunmen who are going *somewhere*. The distanced view however leads the viewer to question the consequence of that movement ideologically.

Figure 1 Photographic images of Two gunmen and downed police officer



Credit Reuters (Bilefsky and Baume, 2015)

Photographic image: Medics moving injured man on stretcher

These photographs of similar situations presented one or more medics at the side of a person on a stretcher. In some images there was an ambulance nearby. Although there were one or two of these photographs that appeared repeatedly, the photographs of medics moving an injured man on a stretcher varied based on different angles. All varied the degree of how much was revealed of the person on the stretcher. Almost all of the medics were white men. When the person on the stretcher was visible, he appeared white.

These images present the attacks as a medical story. Victims suffered personal and individual harm. Response to the attacks is distanced from publishing, religion, and guns. In these images, medics are seen as "on the side" of the shooting victims and the ones responsible for care. The even eye angle with the medics puts the viewer alongside them as they care for the victims and therefore also implicates the viewers as part of that response. There is an intimacy to this shot as evidenced also by the blurred items in the foreground giving the viewer a cinematic invitation to enter the visual field and perhaps implicates the viewer in each aspect of the cause/effect/responsibility triad.

Figure 2 Photographic images of medics moving injured man on stretcher



Associated Press (Robins-Early, 2015)



Aurelien Meunier via Getty Images (Robins-Early, 2015)

Photographic image: Crowd shots of people gathered in public squares

This image is representative of several different photographs of people gathered in public squares. Most of these images were situated in the city of Paris. There are buildings and a statue in the background, which feature in many photos. One variation in this series of images was the distance from the subject, as those shot from far away show hundreds of people, those shot closer show about a dozen of people, and those shot from closer yet show one to four people with other people in the background. Another variation was the signs people held, with the most dominant being "Je Suis Charlie" (I am Charlie) and "Not Afraid" (in English) as less dominant. Some photographs do not show any signs being held. Most people in the photographs appear white and there is variation of age and gender.

All of these protest images depict the effect of the attacks as calm, unified, quiet, and controlled. All the markers for a denigrated social movement that have been noted in previous research (i.e. Downing, 2001; Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Ostertag, 2008) are not present in these images. Even the placards are unified. The symmetry seen in most of these images solidifies that unification. Some of the photographs, such as *DeVerdieping Trouw* (Netherlands), look cinematic in their scripting. People appear calm and collective as opposed to the random and haphazard gunmen. Through their unified solidarity the crowd remove any of the gunmen's intended effects. The citizens of France can solve this horrible situation through collective community. So, indeed, it is the people of France who are responsible for moving forward.

Figure 3 Photographic images of crowd shots of people gathered in public squares



Credit AFP (Bartlett, 2015)



Credit Reuters (Bartlett, 2015)



Credit Ian Langsdon/EPA (White, 2015)

Photographic image: Headshots of Charlie Hedbo victims and two gunmen

The newspapers provided headshots of shooting victims that died and two gunmen. The headshots of the shooting victims were usually of equal size and usually were the same photographs of four men (Director Stéphane Charbonnier and graphic satirists Jean Cabut, Georges Wolinski, and Bernard Verlhac). These headshots varied in their order. Most newspapers that published these headshots included all four, although some newspapers published fewer. In a few publications, one or more of the men were presented as cutouts. And Verlhac had two different headshots that appeared. A few newspapers included one more person, such as Bernard Maris, identified as a columnist or deputy chief editor. These headshots of the two gunmen were usually of equal size. The photos always accompanied other photographs and/or graphics. They were grainy black-and-white photographs. Sometimes the two men are identified as brothers.

Usually only four of the *Charlie Hedbo* victims were included in these photos that focus on the magazine's director and three of its graphic satirists. This decision to highlight four and not all of the shooting victims could be attributed to news routines, as perhaps newspapers/wire services only had access to the more visible/public of the victims. Nonetheless, the first-day stories mostly presented four *Charlie Hedbo* victims and the two gunmen. These headshots then did not include survivors, such as Corinne Reyes, the police officers, or other people aiding the attack. The cause and effect of the attacks become

abstract and a simpler representation of the complex story. These images are confrontational in nature. Viewers cannot remove themselves from the immediacy of the frame of these closely cropped images for both the gunmen and deceased victims. Giving both the victims and the perpetrators equal, static footing in these images complicates how the viewer can or should respond.

Figure 4 Photographic images of headshots of *Charlie Hedbo* victims and two gunmen



Jean Cabut, Bernard Verlhac, Georges Wolinski, Stéphane Charbonnier Credit Agence France-Presse — Getty Images (Bilefsky and Baume, 2015)



Chérif Kouachi and Said Kouachi. Credit French Police (Bilefsky and Baume, 2015)

Photographic image: Candles

Photographs of candles showed variations of people lighting them, people holding them, candles placed near signs (e.g. "Je Suis Charlie") or roses. Usually there was more than one candle, and one image showed 12 candles specifically. When these images included a symbolic rose, it was exclusively a singular rose. Most often these images had no full-body shots of people in them—individuals were truncated outside of the frame.

Without full body shots of the people engaged with the activity, the candles, words, and symbols are left to "speak" for the attacks. The viewer is brought over the shoulder of a mourner and into the emotive frame. The candles symbolize the devout reverence and

solemnity of the moment. However, the angle behind the two people lighting candles is the most telling, as the photographer invites the viewer to step inside this cavity of mourning and feel the pain of these people and the effect of the attacks. There is a distancing from the cause of the attacks and a focus on the victims through signs saying "We Are Charlie." The invitation of action is grief and mourning, which the viewer must then accept as an appropriate response.

Figure 5 Photographic images of candles



Graphic image: Black background with white type of by words, drawings, or both

One of the more common graphic images had white words on black background. Often these were headlines that pointed to articles inside the body of the newspaper. Other words read variations of "Nous Sommes Tous Charlie" (We Are All Charlie). When a drawing accompanied the words, the most common illustration included a pencil.

The newspapers move to a position of editorializing by saying "We" are all Charlie. The choice to use this personal pronoun speaks to a presumed collective response. This became the slogan or phrase replicated in the days that followed the attacks, and it could be

seen on signs in the crowds and near candles. In terms of cause for the attacks, the newspapers publishing these words boldly and clearly are making the issue "black and white." This could be read through several, often oppositional, lenses: the contrast of dark-skinned Islamists and light-skinned Parisians; the juxtaposition of black-and-white print publishing; or an issue that is presented without nuance, as you are either for or against publication of *Charlie Hedbo* satire.

Figure 6 graphic images of black background with white type of words, drawings, or both



Graphic image: Drawing that includes pencil or pencils

Drawings that include a pencil or pencils included significant variation. Often the pencil was broken with some other action accompanying it, such as blood or interruption of a line. Sometimes the instrument was a quill pen or ballpoint pen, although the pencil dominated, and every once in a while there was an eraser. Pencils were contrasted with guns usually with a 1:1 ratio. And pencils were contrasted with hooded men who often showed surprise.

This contrast with a 1:1 ratio demonstrates that writing/drawing instruments have the same weight/value as guns. The machine guns and the representation of blood through red ink or red splatters could be read as cause, but also could be read as effect of the actual drawing of the pen. However, it is more likely that the pencils depict response. That is because the action of pencils, whether an army of pencils or a defiant message written by a cartoonist, often follows the harm done to a pencil (such as breaking it in two) or to a cartoonist (such as cutting off the hand or bullets in the back). Although many cartoonists draw electronically—just as most journalists write with word-processing programs on a laptop, desktop, or similar device—it is revealing that newspapers chose to represent drawing in a way that is reminiscent of the tools used historically by cartoonists and journalists alike. The surprised look on the face of hooded men facing pencils presents the men as vulnerable and on the "losing" end of a power struggle between them (and/or their guns) and the pencil (and/or the person using it).

Figure 7 graphic images of drawing that includes pencil or pencils



Graphic image: Charlie Hebdo magazine cover

Charlie Hedbo magazine front-page covers usually accompanied other photographs and/or graphics. The cover was presented by itself, in a photograph of an unseen person "reading" the magazine so that the cover faced the camera, or with *Charlie Hedbo's* director was holding the magazine. Most covers were from previous months or years, such as "Mahomet deborde par les integristes" (February 2008), "Charia Hedbo" (November 2011, the *Charlie Hedbo* office was firebombed the day of publication), "Le Coran C'est de la Merde" (July 2013, published as Egyptian authorities cracked down on Muslims), "L'Amour Plus Fort que La Haine" (December 2011, published after *Charlie Hedbo* was firebombed), and "Mahomet deborde par les integristes" (February 2006, published alongside re-published controversial cartoons that were first published in a Danish newspaper). All of the *Charlie Hedbo* covers included in the newspaper front pages except for three (a Panama newspaper and two German newspapers) focused on Islam or Muhammad.

The decision to re-publish the *Charlie Hedbo* magazine performed various functions. First, it informed and educated audiences as to what kind of material the magazine published. However, the information was selective, as all the *Charlie Hedbo* covers used except for one, focused on Muhammad, Islam, and/or Islamic fundamentalists. So in selecting these images, there is a presentation of these covers as the cause of the attacks. Second, it shows audiences that the newspaper is not "afraid" to publish controversial issues, including the *Charlie Hedbo* magazine cover. By doing this, the newspaper is "taking the side" of *Charlie Hedbo's* decision to publish. In this way, the newspapers approach their own response as taking republication as action. Third, it replicates what the *Charlie Hedbo* covers conveyed originally. It is important to note that the words accompanying the images are important to understanding the images, and not all readers understand French. Fourth,

these past issues represent what occurred in events surrounding publication. When presented individually, these past issues are decontextualized and require additional description to help the reader understand the context. Without this, these images are confrontational in nature and viewers cannot remove themselves from the immediacy of the frame.

Figure 8 graphic images of a *Charlie Hedbo* magazine cover



Visual Causes, Effects, and Responses to Press Freedom

What was most striking throughout this analysis was the difference between photographic and graphic images. While both clearly represent collective narratives about press freedom, the graphic images provided space for the newspapers to exercise their editorial voice and frame the cause, effect, and response for action as press freedom. The findings follow the International Research and Exchanges Scoring System's press freedom indicator (Becker et al, 2007, 21–23). This tool evaluates countries based on five objectives and their indicators. These objectives and indicators were appropriated as conceptual narratives in relation to the visual framing of the *Charlie Hedbo* images.

***Free Speech as “legal and social norms protect and promote
free speech and access to public information”⁴***

The images collectively depicted the press freedom narrative through photographs and cartoons that showed everyday people joining cartoonists in picking up a pen, and so entry into the profession was free. The social protections of free speech were supported in photographs that showed individuals and crowds holding "JE SUIS CHARLIE" (I am Charlie) and "Nous Sommes Tous Charlie" (We Are All Charlie) signs. These signs also accompanied candlelight vigils. Many newspapers published a graphic image of the sign.

The Free Speech narrative also pointed to violations of social norms, as crimes against journalists are to be prosecuted vigorously and seen as rare. The worldwide attention to this news story demonstrated how the crime was identified as both unusual and newsworthy. Social norms depicted in the images of the large crowds showed masses of people articulating free speech protections with the signs "NOT AFRAID." Despite these crowd images, many of the drawings depicted crimes against journalists as crimes against mostly one person or one pencil, and so the crime was an individual one.

Charbonnier's photograph was consistently included as one of several headshots of the victims. He had appeared on a list of Al Qaeda's targets who was under police protection

⁴ This objective includes these indicators: (1) Legal/social protections of free speech exist and are enforced; (2) Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive and apolitical; (3) Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries; (4) Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare; (5) State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment and law guarantees editorial independence; (6) Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards and the offended party must prove falsity and malice; (7) Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists; (8) Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists; and (9) Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing restrictions or special rights for journalists.

and reportedly said he would rather "die standing than live on my knees." (Somaiya, 2015)

In 2012, Charbonnier supported a series of planned Muslim protests, saying, "We have the right to express ourselves, they have the right to express themselves, too." (Somaiya, 2015)

The Toronto Star's January 8, 2015, headline quoted him saying after the 2011 firebombing of the *Charlie Hedbo* office "I prefer to die than live like a rat." The choice of highlighting his image supports a media-supported narrative of protecting free speech.

***Professional Journalism as "journalism meets standards of quality"*⁵**

Professional journalism was most clearly depicted in the four pictures of people in newsrooms holding JE SUIS CHARLIE signs, as this pointed to the workplace of news production. Additionally, many of the cartoons drawn in response to the attacks included the drawing or drafting tables used by professional cartoonists. And there were several photographs of a Charlie Hedbo worker or a reader holding a published issue, both of which point to the "product" the news organization produced. The indicator that journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship could be seen in two ways. The first was the reprinting of Charlie Hedbo front covers, including those that were the most controversial. The other was placing the newspaper's cartoonist's work on the front page of the January 8, 2015, issue.

***Plurality of News Sources as "multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable and objective news"*⁶**

⁵ This objective includes these indicators: (1) Reporting is fair, objective and well sourced; (2) Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards; (3) Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship; (4) Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption; (5) Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming; (6) Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing and distributing news are modern and efficient; (7) Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

The plurality of news sources could be seen best in the drawings of pencils that continue to "win" and rise despite threats. This image was repeated across many publications, and yet there were very few images that were the same. Additionally, cartoonists were depicted as having the last say even when shot in the back. Finally, the plurality of news sources was seen in one publication carrying on the work of another.

Business Management as “independent media are well-managed businesses, allowing editorial independence”⁷

Although this press freedom objective appears less obvious than the others, the prominence of *Charlie Hedbo* editorial director, Stéphane Charbonnier (Charb), 47, in many of the front pages is important. Prior to his death, Charbonnier "was often pictured with his fist aloft" and criticized for "crude caricatures of Mohammad, shown naked and in sexual poses." (Somaiya, 2015) But for Charbonnier, it was "a matter of freedom to think and speak as one wished, said Daniel Leconte, who made a documentary about *Charlie Hedbo* and its battles over the Muhammad cartoons." (Somaiya, 2015)

⁶ This objective includes these indicators: (1) A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g. print, broadcast, Internet) exists; (2) Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted; (3) State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan and serve the public interest; (4) Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media; (5) Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs; (6) Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates; and (7) A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

⁷ This objective includes these indicators: (1) Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient professional and profit generating businesses; (2) Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources; (3) Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market; (4) Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets; (5) Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences; (6) Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

***Supporting Institutions as “supporting institutions function
in the professional interests of independent media”⁸***

This last objective of supporting institutions could be seen in a few ways. Cartoonists at one newspaper drew to support Charlie Hedbo, press freedom, the French people, and anti-terrorism. Nations were presented as supporting institutions as well, including making links of these attacks to the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. Additionally, medics and police working are depicted as protecting journalists' rights indirectly as they pay careful, close, and intimate care to those harmed.

Conclusion

The day of the *Charlie Hedbo* massacre, the Los Angeles Times published these words on its front pages. "PERILS OF THE PEN: Cartoonists enrage, more so than writers, because their work is visual and transcends language barriers." The words are telling of not only the cartoonists of Charlie Hedbo, but also visual representation that the front pages of newspapers afford more broadly. Newspapers around the world included "JE SUIS CHARLIE" as it covered the massacre and public response, as well as it editorialized on behalf of its news workers and news institution. USA Today in that same day's coverage said this rallying crime was reminiscent of the famous "We Are All Americans Now" that the French newspaper *Le Monde* published after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the

⁸ This objective includes these indicators: (1) Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services; (2) Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights; (3) NGOs support free speech and independent media; (4) Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist; (5) Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills; (6) Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are private, apolitical and unrestricted; (7) Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical and unrestricted.

United States. This research examined 441 front-page images published in 367 newspapers on the day following the shooting in Paris of twelve people at or near the satirical magazine to understand how mainstream media visually frame responsibility for the *Charlie Hedbo* massacre and how visual framing coalesced to represent collective narratives about press freedom. As a collaborative visual analysis, this study attempts to understand how the selected visual frames worked to communicate the causes, effects, and responses to the massacre and also to press freedom—an ideological construct that that news media had a vested interest in advancing.

Work Cited

- Altheide, D. (1976). *Creating reality: How TV distorts events*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Associated Press. (2013, July 1) Newspapers By Circulation: Wall Street Journal Leads Weekday Circulation. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/01/newspaper-circulation-top-10_n_3188612.html. Originally published April 20, 2013.
- Barnard, M. (2005). *Graphic design as communication*. London: Routledge.
- Barrett, A. W., & Barrington, L. W. (2005). Is a picture worth a thousand words?: Newspaper photographs and voter evaluations of political candidates. *Harvard International Journal of Press Politics*, 10(4, Fall), 98–113.
- N.A. (2015, January 9) Charlie Hedbo hunt: Bloody end to siege. *BBC News Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30752239>.
- N.A. (2015, January 11) Paris attacks: Millions rally for unity in France. *BBC News Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30765824>.
- N.A. (2015, January 15) Paris attacks: Pope Francis says freedom of speech has its limits. *BBC News Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30835625>.
- Bartlett, N. (2015 January 9) Charlie Hedbo attack and Parish shooting: The key facts. *Mirror*. Retrieved at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/charlie-hebdo-attack-paris-shootings-4949621>.
- Becker, L. B., Vlad, T., & Nusser, N. (2007). An evaluation of press freedom indicators. *The International Communication Gazette*, 69(1), 5–28. doi: 10.1177/1748048507072774
- Bilefsky, D. and Baume, M. (2015, January 7) Terrorists strike Charlie Hedbo newspaper in Paris, leaving 12 dead. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/08/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-paris->

- shooting.html?action=click&contentCollection=Europe&module=RelatedCoverage®ion=Marginalia&pgtype=article.
- Blackwood, R. E. (1983). The content of news photos: Rles portrayed by men and women. *Journalism Quarterly*, 60, 710–714.
- Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication*, 54(2), 214–233.
- Coonfield, G., & Huxford, J. (2009). News images as lived images: Media ritual, cultural performance, and public trauma. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 26(5, December), 457–479.
- Dansky, S. (2009). The look of gay liberation. *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, 1 March.
- Desmarais, F., & Bruce, T. (2010). The power of stereotypes: Anchoring images through language in live sports broadcasts. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 29(3), 338–362.
- Downing, J. (2001). *Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58.
- Entman, R. (2004). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Entman, R., & Rojecki, A. (1993). Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the U.S. anti nuclear movement. *Political Communication*, 10, 155–173.
- Flusser, V. (2000). *Towards a philosophy of photography*. London: Reaktion.
- Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 373–393.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- Hall, S. (2003) The Work of Representation. In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage in association with The Open University, 2003. First published in 1997.
- Hertog, J., & McLeod, D. (1995). Anarchists wreak havoc in downtown Minneapolis: A multi-level study of media coverage of radical protest. *Journalism Monographs*, 151(June), 1–48.
- Helbling, M. (2003) Opposing Muslims and the Muslim headscarf in Western Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 30(2, April), 242–257.
- Huxford, J. (2001). Beyond the referential: Uses of visual symbolism in the press. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, 2(1), 45–71.
- Jeong, S.-H. (2008). Visual metaphor in advertising: Is the persuasive effect attributable to visual argumentation or metaphorical rhetoric? *Journal of Marketing Communications*, 14(1, February), 59–73.
- Julier, G. (2000). *The culture of design*. London: Sage.
- Kensicki, L. J. (2004). No cure for what ails us: The media-constructed disconnect between societal problems and possible solutions. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1, May), 53–73. doi: 10.1177/107769900408100105

- Landau, J. (2009). Straightening out (the politics of) same-sex parenting: Representing gay families in US print news stories and photographs. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 26(1, March), 80–100. doi: 10.1080/15295030802684018
- Lester, P. M. (2003). *Visual Communication: Images with Messages* (3rd ed.). Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.
- Levina, M., Waldo, C. R., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2006). We're here, we're queer, we're on TV: The effects of visual media on heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 30(4), 738–758.
- Manovich, L. (2001). *The language of new media*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McCloud, S. (1994) The vocabulary of comics. In *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. New York: HarperPerennial, reprinted by arrangement with Kitchen Sink Press, 1994. First published in 1993.
- McQuail, D. (2005). *Mass communication theory* (5th ed.). London: Sage.
- Miller, S. (1975). The content of news photos: Women's and men's roles. *Journalism Quarterly*, 52(1), 70–75.
- Newseum. (2015, March 10). Champions of the First Amendment. Retrieved from <http://www.newseum.org/about/>.
- Ostertag, B. (2008, 22-26 May 2008). *Social movements and the printed and electronic word*. Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Montreal.
- Pew Research Center. (2015, January 28) After Charlie Hedbo, balancing press freedom and respect for religion. Pew Research Center Journalism & Media. Retrieved from <http://www.journalism.org/2015/01/28/after-charlie-hebdo-balancing-press-freedom-and-respect-for-religion/>.
- Pew Research Center. (2010, July 8) Widespread support for banning full Islamic veil in Western Europe. *Pew Research Center Global Attitudes & Trends*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2010/07/08/widespread-support-for-banning-full-islamic-veil-in-western-europe/>.
- Reese, S. D., Gandy Jr., O. H., & Grant, A. E. (2001). *Framing Public Life*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Reeves, J. L., & Campbell, R. (1994). *Cracked coverage: Television news, the anti-cocaine crusade, and the Reagan legacy*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Robins-Early, N. (2015, January 7) The attack on Charlie Hedbo newspaper, in pictures. *The World Post*. Available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/01/07/charlie-hebdo-photos_n_6429400.html.
- Rodgers, S., Kenix, L. J., & Thorson, E. (2007). Stereotypical portrayals of emotionality in news photographs. *Mass Communication and Society*, 10(1), 119–138. doi: 10.1080/15205430709337007
- Ryan, C., Carragee, K. M., & Schwerner, C. (1998). Media, movements, and the quest for social justice. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 26, 165–181.
- Somaiya, R. (2015, January 7) Charlie Hedbo Editor Made Provocation His Mission. *New York Times*. Retrieved at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/08/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-editor-made-provocation-his-mission.html?_r=0.
- Sotirovic, M. (2000). Effects of media use on audience framing and support for welfare. *Mass Communication and Society*, 3, 269–297.
- Sturken, M., & Cartwright, L. (2001). *Practices of looking: An introduction to visual culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Tankard Jr., J. W., Hendrickson, L., Silberman, J., Bliss, K., & Ghanem, S. (1991). *Media Frames: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement*. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Waitt, G. (2005). Doing discourse analysis. In I. Hay (Ed.), *Qualitative research methods in human geography* (pp. 163-191). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Wells, L. (2003). *The Photography Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- White, M. (2015 January 8) After the Charlie Hedbo attack, let's not pretend we're not afraid. The Guardian. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2015/jan/08/after-charlie-hebdo-attack-afraid-brave-words-freedom-speech>.
- Zelizer, B. (2006). What's untransportable about the transport of photographic images? *Popular Communication*, 4(1), 3–20.